

# TEXT OF COL. ROOSEVELT'S LETTER ASKING FOR THE "UNGRUING SUPPORT OF MR. HUGHES"

Wilson Tried and Found Defeated.

HUGHES BETTER FITTED

Chicago, June 26.—Following is the text of Col. Theodore Roosevelt's letter read before the Progressive National Committee here to-day:

"GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the message I sent to the Progressive National Convention in 1912, I have received the notification that it had nominated me for President. I now communicate to you my reasons for declining the honor and deeply regretting the delay since the adjournment of the convention, I have received between two and three thousand letters and telegrams from men who had supported me for the nomination. The majority expressing the desire that I would refuse to run, while a minority urged that I should accept the nomination. As it is a physical impossibility to answer these letters and telegrams individually, I beg the courtesy of the senders that they will accept this public statement in lieu of such answers.

**Praise for Progressives.**

"Before speaking of anything else, I wish to express my heartiest and most unstinted admiration for the character and services of the men and women who made up the Progressive National Convention in 1912. I can give them no higher praise than to say that in all respects they stood level with the best men and women who in 1912 joined at Chicago to found the Progressive party. These two conventions, in character, in disinterestedness, in insight, in high purpose, and in desire to render practical service to the people, typified exactly what such bodies ought to be in a great self-governing democracy. They represented the spirit which moved Abraham Lincoln and his political associates during the decade preceding the close of the Civil War. The most important public document promulgated in this country since the death of Abraham Lincoln. It represented the first effort to translate abstract formulas of economic and social justice into concrete American nationalism; the effort to apply the principles of Washington and Lincoln to the needs of the United States in the twentieth century. No finer effort was ever made to serve the American people, in a spirit of loyalty to that which is loftiest in the American tradition.

**Principles Stand Test.**

"Events have shown that the Progressive party in 1912, generally, and the Progressive party in 1916, specifically, were really intended to stand for the principles which we then advocated. The results of the terrible world war of the past two years have now made it clear to all that the principles which we stood for in 1912 were not only sound, but that in this country there must be spiritual and industrial preparedness, along the lines of efficiency, of loyalty, service to the nation, and of practical application of the principles which we then advocated. The results of the terrible world war of the past two years have now made it clear to all that the principles which we stood for in 1912 were not only sound, but that in this country there must be spiritual and industrial preparedness, along the lines of efficiency, of loyalty, service to the nation, and of practical application of the principles which we then advocated. The results of the terrible world war of the past two years have now made it clear to all that the principles which we stood for in 1912 were not only sound, but that in this country there must be spiritual and industrial preparedness, along the lines of efficiency, of loyalty, service to the nation, and of practical application of the principles which we then advocated.

**Idea Sure of Adoption.**

"Some or later the national principles championed by the Progressives of 1912 must in the general effort to be made in the structure of our national government. With all my heart I shall continue to work for these great ideals, and I shall be glad to stand with the men and women who in 1912 championed them; and I am sure that these men and women will show a like loyalty to the events, the fundamental ideals which the events of the past two years have now made it clear to all that the principles which we stood for in 1912 were not only sound, but that in this country there must be spiritual and industrial preparedness, along the lines of efficiency, of loyalty, service to the nation, and of practical application of the principles which we then advocated.

**Must Seek Other Means.**

"Yet it has become entirely evident that the people under existing conditions are not prepared to accept a new party. It is impossible for the Progressives to abandon our convictions. But we are faced with the fact that as things actually are, the Progressive national organization, no longer able to stand for the principles which we then advocated, whereby we can make these convictions effective in our national life. Under such circumstances, our duty is to do the best we can, and to seek other means. Our leadership is rejected. That we ourselves continue to believe that the course we advocated was in the highest interest of the American people is aside from the question. It is unpatriotic to refuse to do the best possible merely because the people have not put us in position to do what we regard as the very best. It remains for us, good humoredly and with common sense, to face the situation and to leave to get out of it the best that can be made to yield from the standpoint of the interests of the nation as a whole.

**Why Not a Third Ticket.**

"From the standpoint of national honor and interest, it stood on an even level that the Administration of Buchanan, not the Administration of our history had done more to relax the rigidity of the national will and to deaden the national conscience. Within the Republican party there were forces at work. There were men among the organization leaders who advocated a course of action such as offered no improvement upon the Democratic position, and advocated the nomination of candidates whose election would have resulted in no improvement upon the continuance of Wilson. It was such a course was followed, it would obviously become our duty to run a third ticket. But it was plainly our duty to do everything in our power to prevent such a necessity to do everything short of sacrificing our most sacred convictions in order to secure the alignment under one leadership of the forces opposed to the continuance in power of Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party.

**Wilson Tried and Found Defeated.**

"Six weeks later, on March 9, in my Trinidad statement, I asked for a similar combination of the Democratic party, on a platform of 'clean-cut, straight national Americanism,' and for a candidate who will not merely stand for such a platform before election, but will resolutely and in good faith put it through if elected."

"This was, in effect, the same statement which I made in my telegrams to Mr. Jackson, tending the convention, which ran in part as follows: 'Can we not, forgetting past differences, now join in a common effort to secure the enforcement of the policies of genuine Americanism and genuine preparedness? Surely we can afford to act in accordance with the principles of the Democratic party, and may not all have a common interest in a common effort to save our common country? May we not, in this same spirit toward those who have? As far as my own soul is concerned, it is in this same spirit that I am now appearing before you as a Republican and Progressive assembled at Chicago.'

**Hoped to Join Republicans.**

"In addition to these public statements, I had also stated my own attitude verbally, and in letters, during the weeks immediately preceding the convention, to the leaders of the Progressive party from all parts of the country, including many of the leaders at the convention. To these men I expressed my earnest hope that the Republicans would so act as to make it possible for me to join the Progressive party. I stated to them, however, that in view of the attitude of some of the Republican leaders it was at least conceivable that we would be in a position where our highest duty, our fealty to the country, our sense of what patriotism demanded in a great crisis like this, would require us to run a separate ticket; and that whether in such event it would be necessary for me to head that ticket could not be determined in advance. I stated in my interviews and in these letters, with utmost emphasis, that the decision of this ticket, like the whole matter of running a separate ticket, would be determined by what the interests of the country demanded in view of the action finally taken by the conventions at Chicago.

**Good Faith Affirmed.**

"At the time many of the Republican leaders asserted that my statements were intended to lead to my own nomination by the Republican convention, and that if I was not so nominated, I intended to accept the Progressive nomination and run on the third ticket. Of course my fellow Progressives were under no such error. They knew that I spoke in good faith and meant exactly what I said. They knew that my utterances were to be accepted at their exact face value as meaning that if the Republicans nominated a man whom I could not accept, I would support him. The Progressive convention came together knowing my public statements and therefore knowing exactly what my attitude was. It was my duty, in my judgment, to state that Mr. Hughes meets the conditions set forth in the statement of the Progressive National Committee, issued last January. Under existing conditions, the nomination of a third ticket would, in my judgment, be merely a move in the interest of the election of Mr. Wilson. I regard Mr. Hughes as a man whose public record is a guarantee that he will not merely stand for a programme of clean-cut straight national Americanism before election, but will resolutely and in good faith put it through if elected. He is beyond all comparison better fitted to be President than Mr. Wilson.

**Must Defeat Wilson.**

"It would be a grave detriment to the country to elect Mr. Wilson. I shall, therefore, strongly support Mr. Hughes. Such being the case, it is unnecessary to say that I cannot accept the nomination of a third ticket. I do not believe that there should be a third ticket. I believe that when my fellow Progressives coolly consider the question they will almost instinctively take this position. They and I have but one purpose—the purpose to serve our common country. It is my deep conviction that this sentiment is shared only by supporting Mr. Hughes.

"It is urged against Mr. Hughes that he was supported by the various social and economic allies of the Progressive party. I believe that the attitude of these professional German-Americans was due, not in the least, to any liking for Mr. Hughes, but solely to their antagonism to me. They were bound to defeat me for the nomination. The only way by which they could achieve this object was by supporting Mr. Hughes and then supporting him accordingly, without any regard to other considerations. I need hardly repeat what I have already said in stern repetition of this professional German-American element—the element typified by the German-American alliances and the similar bodies, which have, in the pre-nomination campaign, played not merely an un-American but thoroughly anti-American part. These men have nothing in common with the great body of Americans who are in the sole or in part of German blood, and who are precisely as good Americans as those of any other ancestry.

**German American Attitude.**

"There are not, and never have been, in all our land, better citizens than the great mass of the men and women of German birth or descent who have been or are being completely merged in our common American nationality. A nationality distinct from any in Europe, for Americans who are good Americans are no more German-Americans than they are English-Americans, or Irish-Americans, or Scandinavian-Americans. They are Americans and nothing else. No good American, whatever his ancestry or creed, could ever feel any interest or sympathy with that of Germany. They represent that adherence to the political-racial hyphen which is the badge and sign of racial treason in the Republic. I have singled these men out for specific denunciation, and assuredly if I support a candidate it may be accepted as proof that I am certain that the candidate is incapable of being influenced by the evil intrigues of these hyphenated Americans.

"The professional German-American of this type are acting purely in the sinister interest of Germany. They have shown their eager readiness to sacrifice the interest of the United States whenever its interest conflicted with that of Germany. They represent that adherence to the political-racial hyphen which is the badge and sign of racial treason in the Republic. I have singled these men out for specific denunciation, and assuredly if I support a candidate it may be accepted as proof that I am certain that the candidate is incapable of being influenced by the evil intrigues of these hyphenated Americans.

"The events of the last three and a half years have shown that as much cannot be said for Mr. Wilson. In Mr. Wilson's case we do not have to

"Professional German-Americans" Antagonistic Only to T. R.

PRINCIPLES ARE GUARDED

honor of the United States. They have brought us to impotence abroad and to division and weakness at home. They have accustomed us to see the highest and most responsible offices of government filled by incompetent men appointed only for reasons of partisan politics. They have debased the moral sense of the people. They have taught us that peace, the peace of cowardice and dishonor, and indifference to the welfare of others, is to be put above righteousness, above the stern and unflinching performance of duty whether the duty is pleasant or unpleasant. Yet in Mexico they have failed even to secure the peace which they sought; and they have failed in spite of the most ample opportunity in any real fashion to meet the crisis which their own policy invited. They have taught us to put 'safety first' before duty and honor; to put that intermaterialism which will guarantee that more money making, and in the faded ease of life, above all spiritual things, above all the high and fine instincts of the soul. They have substituted for straight-forward and efficient action, hesitancy and vacillation into a settled governmental policy.

Ungrudging Support of Hughes.

"Mr. Hughes has shown in his career the instincts of efficiency which will guarantee that under him the Government will once more work with vigor and force. He possesses that habit of straight-forward thinking which means that his words will be correlated with his deeds and translated into facts. His past career is the warrant for our belief that he will be the unflinching opponent of that system of feeble government which finds expression in the domination of the party boss and the party machine. His past career is a guarantee that whatever he says before election will be made good by his acts after election. Morally, his public record shows him to be a man of unending integrity; intellectually, it shows him to be a man of original and trained ability.

"We have the alternative of continuing in office an Administration which has proved a lamentable failure or of putting in office an Administration which has every reason to believe will function with efficiency for the indefinite future. I earnestly bespeak for my fellow Progressives their ungrudging support of Mr. Hughes. Yours truly, Theodore Roosevelt."

"Sakamora Hill, June 22, 1916."

WOMEN TO FIGHT WILSON.

That Is, If Democrats Refuse Ballot and Republicans Promise It.

Unless the Democratic party sees to it that a Federal amendment to the Constitution in favor of woman suffrage is passed before the dissolution of the Sixty-fourth Congress, the entire body of women voters throughout the country will work for the defeat of President Wilson at the polls next November.

That was the ultimatum laid down yesterday by Miss Anne Martin, chairman of the Woman's party, organized during the recent Republican and Democratic conventions. Miss Martin cited figures to show that the women in the twelve States acknowledging equal franchise would hold the balance of power and by controlling ninety-one electoral votes can make possible the election of Hughes. In the event, however, of the Republicans not coming out for the Federal suffrage amendment in the meantime, it is altogether probable that women voters will be instructed not to go to the polls at all.

Miss Martin left for Washington last night to consult the details of the campaign by consulting with officers of the Congressional Union, after which she will confer with State chairmen.

ELECTION ODDS UNCHANGED.

Roosevelt's Indorsement of Hughes Has No Effect in Street.

Roosevelt's indorsement of Hughes did not change the betting odds in Wall Street yesterday, according to Edward McQuade, the curb stakeholder.

After the publication of the Colonel's statement the odds on Hughes remained unchanged at 8 to 1. The odds on Wilson remained 2 to 1. Very little money was offered on either candidate.

## MOOSE LEADERS INDORSE HUGHES

Continued from First Page.

cause have an equal right to guide their actions.

Col. Parker and some of his followers at the very start of the executive session demanded an open door for the public and bolted the meeting.

"There seems to be a misapprehension," said George W. Perkins after Col. Parker had registered his protest and departed. "Certain people seem to have an idea that as the great European war has secured in defeat at the elections. But out of office, opposed by some of the most powerful and subtle forces of modern life, they succeeded in the same stance of their aim and in making their purpose the purpose of the nation."

"Thus much of the Progressive programme has already become law. Again the 1916 platform of the Republican party has been made substantially Progressive, pledging that party to a Federal child labor law, a Federal workmen's compensation act, and Federal investigation of the conditions of workmen in industries."

Issues of 1916.

"Had world conditions remained normal it is fairly certain that the Progressive party would ultimately have secured in legislation the Government action, in non-sectional politics the enforcement of their great plan of advance. Across the normal paths of peace, however, the Progressive party has been met with an issue deeper than that of national advance, the issue of national unity and national existence, of Americanism and of preparedness."

"Therefore, placed foremost, as our immediate need, preparedness in arms, industry, and spirit; in arms, the democratic government of the people; in industry, the cooperation, through government, of the whole people to promote individual welfare and business prosperity; in spirit, the patriotism that knows no hyphenated patriotism. The National Progressive Committee recognizes that such are now the issues that immediately confront the country and jukes only to the duty that arises therefrom."

"As a plain political fact, the next administration of the United States will be either Republican or Democratic. The Progressive party holds the deciding vote in this issue. If that party throws its weight to Mr. Hughes his election will probably be insured. If that party runs a third ticket of its own it is equally probable it will insure the reelection of Mr. Wilson."

"The party is in accord with the views of Col. Roosevelt set forth in his said letter as to the disastrous effects which the Democratic Administration has had upon the interests and honor of the country. The National Committee concurs with him on the grave national peril that would be involved in a continuance of that Administration and as to the importance and desirability of placing Mr. Hughes in the control of the administration."

"The Progressive party has brought together much of the best intellect, moral courage and qualities of leadership that the country has. In the work which it is doing for the country, in the next few years it is essential that these qualities, the most important national resources, be available, either individual or, if need be, in organized form. The men and women who have formed the Progressive party have, in the past four years, come to know each other; have been bound by the common ties of a great and unselfish purpose, of personal sacrifice and united action. As individuals, their influence had before that time been small. As such a group they worked for a common cause in American conditions."

**Accepts T. R.'s Resignation.**

"Facing these essential facts, which transcend partisan or personal considerations, the National Committee sets forth the following as its earnest and sincere conviction: That the Progressive party must be made in economic conditions."

"The Progressive party was created by the coming together of men who saw that if our nation was to maintain its place in civilization, certain great advances must be made in economic conditions."

The Progressive Statement.

This is the statement which was drafted by Dean Lewis and approved by the National Progressive Committee in determining its action upon the letter of Col. Roosevelt declining the nomination of the Progressive party, recognizes the following basic facts:

"1. The Progressive party was created by the coming together of men who saw that if our nation was to maintain its place in civilization, certain great advances must be made in economic conditions."

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ditions, in governmental efficiency and in political machinery.

"These men set forth in the Progressive platform of 1912 a great and definite programme, acting in the service of the American people, but now by the work of these men accepted in substance by the whole country as the platform of duty."

"2.—Moved by this purpose, at the sacrifice of old associations and material considerations under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, they gathered in women for years, without hope of personal gain or advantage, have earnestly labored to serve their country in its hour of peril. As the great European war has secured in defeat at the elections. But out of office, opposed by some of the most powerful and subtle forces of modern life, they succeeded in the same stance of their aim and in making their purpose the purpose of the nation."

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Roosevelt as the candidate of the party for President of the United States and concurs in the reasons for his action given in his letter of resignation. It recognizes his past service to the country as leader of this party, a service that cannot adequately be expressed in words, and it recognizes also the sacrifice which the present crisis has demanded of him and which he has met in listening rather to the urgent need of the nation than to any partisan or personal ambition.

"The national committee heartily supports Charles Evans Hughes of New York for President."

"The committee desires to make it entirely clear that in its action here it asks nothing for the Progressive party as a party or for the members thereof. It imposes no condition or consideration for the support of the party, save only the condition that Mr. Hughes shall earnestly work toward the accomplishment of the great purposes of national security and national honor and justice which are set forth by Col. Roosevelt in his letter as the motives for this action."

"The committee earnestly desires that the power of the Progressive movement, which has largely without political victory, accomplished so great a change in the aspect of American affairs, be continued and preserved intact for further service."

"To this end the committee therefore recommends that the organization of the Progressive party be preserved so far as possible, and so far as is best consistent with that purpose of national service, that the State committees continue in operation and take such action as is best fitted to give unity and expression to the Progressive movement in their respective localities."

"The national committee will maintain its organization for the same purpose throughout the country to the end that we may preserve the unified working power of that great body of men and women of high national purpose whose intellects and unselfish patriotism are needed by the country and whose power to make good these ideals will be greatly increased by maintaining their common work both for the present and for the future."

**T. R. WILL BE HUGHES'S GUEST.**

Invitation for Luncheon Is Sure to Be Accepted.

COVERED BY L. I. June 26.—I have come today to make and Charles Evans Hughes, Republican nominee for President, will be invited to luncheon on the meeting in Chicago of the Progressive National Committee. The situation in Mexico or the report that he is getting ready to organize a body of volunteers if there is war with Mexico.

"The report that Justice Hughes would invite him to luncheon was brought to the Progressive party. It is not yet received the invitation, although it is understood to be on the way. There is no doubt that Col. Roosevelt will accept. Indications have been growing steadily that despite the fact that Col. Roosevelt keeps repeating that he is out of politics and wishes to withdraw from the limelight he will never be permitted to do so. He is getting ready to organize a body of volunteers if there is war with Mexico."

**PROGRESSIVES JAB AT CRANE.**

Want Hughes to Pay Less Heed to Ex-Senator.

WASHINGTON, June 26.—Letters of protest have gone from certain Progressives to Charles E. Hughes, Republican nominee for President, urging him not to attach too much importance to the representations of ex-Senator Crane and certain other conservative Republicans if he expects to have Progressive support.

For several days the restlessness of the Progressive class has been increasing as they have read of the activities of some of the conservatives. The impression has gained ground among certain other conservative Republicans that the old organization of the party has the ear of the candidate and

## They of the High Trails

"Mr. Garland is at his best in these stories. . . . The life of the West in the trails, which Mr. Garland loves, is capably portrayed."—N. Y. Evening Post.

By HAMLIN GARLAND

"It is a wonderful land into which Garland takes you—a wonder-land in which he has lived and learned."—N. Y. Evening Post.

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is taking over the campaign management. Reports were current in the Senate today that the nominee had already selected his campaign manager, that he is the personal selection of Mr. Hughes and will be satisfactory.

Senator Snoot of Utah, the only member of the Republican subcommittee selected just after the Chicago convention to confer with the nominee, appeared to have the secret, but guarded it closely. "It is my opinion that the selection when announced will give satisfaction to all classes," said Senator Snoot, who left at midnight for New York to meet with the subcommittee.

AUSTRALIA IN OCEAN TRADE.

Purchase of Fleet Explains Rumors of Shipping Deal.

Special Cable Dispatch to The Sun.

LONDON, June 26.—The real facts in the recent reports of a big deal in shipping, which rumor successfully ascribed to the Canadian, Peninsular and Oriental lines and others, are laid bare by the announcement today that the Commonwealth of Australia, through Premier Hughes, has bought a fleet of British freighters to carry Australian wheat to the United Kingdom and the Allies.

Premier Hughes in a recent long visit to Great Britain asked that freighters be sent to Australia, but this was refused on the ground that the shorter Atlantic voyage made it more advantageous to bring produce from the United States and the Argentine.

The difficulty became so acute for Australia, threatening among other things to deprive her of a great part of the value of her recent harvest of 1915, that the Commonwealth Government decided to enter the shipping trade and authorized Hughes to buy a fleet. He bought ten steamships of the class strait line and five others. The fleet will be called the Commonwealth Government Line. The price averaged £100,000 (£450,000) each.

Lives of 31 "Objectors" Spared.

LONDON, June 26.—Harold J. Tennant, Under Secretary for War, stated in the House of Commons today that thirty-four conscientious objectors to military service have been sentenced to death by military courts. As the death sentences were commuted, he said.



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And the Service is DEFINITE—the famous Studebaker system of regular service that prevents troubles instead of merely remedying AFTER they occur. This service is explained in detail, written down in detail BEFORE you buy. It is one of the GREAT advances in the motor car industry. Come in and let us tell you all of the details of this Definite Service.

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